India

FOR THE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Viceroy's famine telegram of July 6 was rather depressing, but a telegram from the Governor of Bombay two days later was calculated to restore some confidence, for it announced that good rain had fallen in Gujerat. Evidently, however, it will be wise, as we have already indicated, not to jump too hastily to conclusions of a favourable character. For now, in the Viceroy's telegram of July 13, we are told that Gujerat, as well as the Punjab, must be excepted from the area that has received rain sufficient for sowings. Indeed, "in part of Gujerat only a few light showers have been received as yet"; and we infer, though the expression is ambiguous, that elsewhere in Gujerat there have been not even "a few light showers." In spite of the Governor of Bombay's telegram of hopefulness, "rain is urgently wanted there"—that is, in Gujerat—"there, and in part of the Deccan," where there is confessedly no prospect of any immediate reduction of famine relief. The figures of relief are only slightly higher—a total of 588,000, which is only 3,000 more than the preceding week. But it is necessary to look into the details. It is a very disconcerting thing to find that the numbers have gone up in Bombay by no fewer than 14,000, and that they have doubled in the Central Provinces. On the other hand, the numbers have fallen from 7,000 to 1,000 in the Central India States, and there are diminutions in the Bombay Native States, Haidarabad, and Madras, which just leave the general balance on the wrong side—a balance moreover vitiated by the obvious want of a fresh set of figures from Baroda. But it seems to us that the plight of Bombay is indicative of deep-seated mischief, which the figures elsewhere do not counterbalance except in a severely arithmetical sense.

From a written statement submitted to the Famine Commission by Mr. G. K. Harkare, of Muddebihal, in the department of Bijapur, one may infer the currency of a good deal of adverse criticism on the details, and to some extent on the principles, of famine administration. Mr. Harkare is very earnest, and there is no patent reason why his statements should be doubted in the least, but we should have liked much more precision in his expressions, and the other side of the cases he presents is not before us. True, he gives specific examples, with name and place and date annexed; but every one of these cases must be taken subject to cross-examination. We hope that cross-examination will be rigidly applied, and the results stated. For some of Mr. Harkare's allegations are painful. Thus he says: "My experience leads me to consider that Government relief during the last famine was very very defective all through." He cites a certain Mamlatdar who complained to him of lack of funds for relief purposes, and he gives other examples as well, and he says: "for this reason Mamlatdars, and even perhaps the higher officials, are unable to relieve distress, even if they see keen distress before their eyes." Again, he writes: "Even if names are recommended to the Collector, the Collector never takes sufficient notice of them." He again specifies examples, and there is no need to quarrel with the wideness of his generalisation; in fairness, its spirit should be solely regarded. At the very least, his statement shows the impression made upon an intelligent Indian moving about actively among the sufferers.

"Respectable persons reduced to starvation," says Mr. Harkare, "are not given doles by the Civil Department, as they can be made clerks or gangers in the Public Works Department, and the Public Works Department does not admit them on work." What, then, are such persons to do? They can only starve. And even "supposing that an adult member of such a person's family be made a ganger on 2½ annas per day nominally, and ¼ anna actually, the other members of the family are not given doles." If this be so, it seems preposterous to call the process relief. But why should a man get 2½ annas nominally, and only ¼ anna actually? This must point to the corruption of intermediate officials, and the allegation ought to be probed to the bottom. Again, in the case of the "distance test," the people do not seem to know always where to go, "even though in all villages it (some relief work) may be published by a beat of drum." "At the time of publication they do not understand where it is opened. Strange stories of the condition of the people on the distant works circulate among them, which fact dissuades them from going. People prefer death by starvation at home to going to distant places for work." Further, "even if there be relief at hand, people, though starving, will not go there, if they have no company. The whole neighbourhood must starve—i.e., distress must have reached its climax—before they all go in company." Hence, "the only test that the people leave their homes for relief must be sufficient." This indicates the painful difficulties that relief officers are confronted with; yet a modicum of tact and sympathy should suffice to meet them. And the indirect evidence of this statement of Mr. Harkare's goes right against the assertion that the people are demoralised by relief and hurry unnecessarily to the works.

Mr. Harkare takes credit to his organisation for having "improved many skeletons," though some of his folk have died in the process from "the effects of long privations" before they sought succour. It is horrible to learn that "more than half of the food of starving persons consisted of other substances than the ordinary food of man." "Whenever I went to a house for inspection," says Mr. Harkare, "hungry inmates—father, mother, and children—would go with me into the house, reeling, to show me the contents of their earthen pots, etc., and what contents did I see? Not jowari, but powdered blades of jowari stalk, tamarind seeds, husks of corn, the chaff of ears left after the grains are threshed; and when asked by me as to what they did with such a store, they would say, weepingly: 'Father, we mix it with a little jowari, if we get it, grind the mixture into flour, prepare bread of it, and eat it.'" Kanji (a little flour mixed with a large quantity of water and boiled), he says, "was also largely used." Jungle vegetables, too, "such as gorji, were cooked and eaten, and at times mixed with flour to be made into breads." The effect naturally was "that people became very weak, sometimes with big bellies and thin legs and arms"—as we have seen them in illustrations in London newspapers. Mr. Harkare also condemns strongly "the system of payment by results, or penal wages"; and he testifies how the "massing of people on large works tends to disorganise family life and to relax moral ties." Much

of this, we daresay, is inevitable in famine. But how much might have been avoided? Statements like these seem to demand very trenchant investigation.

In February last Mr. William Digby addressed an open letter to Sir Antony MacDonnell. Therein Mr. Digby, in view of the strictures passed by Sir Antony on the Bombay administration, drew attention to the poverty existing in the North-west Provinces. He asked Sir Antony to look at home and see what was happening under his own Government. Mr. Crooke, a Civilian who retired in 1896, estimated that the cultivators of the Raja of Awar, in some ways exceptionally well situated, lacked 40 per cent. of the income needed to supply the barest wants of nature. In the village of Akbarpursen Mr. Bird found that there was among the cultivators a deficiency of 42 per cent. in the amount required for food alone. Mr. Gartlan, manager of the Palmer Waste Land Grant, found the cultivators without warm clothing. The wife of one of them had no clothing but a sheet. Mr. Digby added some statistics showing that the deaths in the North-west Provinces in the years 1896 and 1897 were 841,212 in excess of the average.

To this letter Sir Antony on May 22 made a reply, in which fairly enough he pointed out that although the excess of deaths appeared large, the percentage of increase was unusually small for years of famine. With less reason he denied that the Government revenue system had an evil effect on the rayat's condition, and propounded four chief causes of his poverty. These are: (1) the precariousness of the climate; (2) his indebtedness owing to reckless expenditure on festivals, and high rates of interest on loans; (3) the minute sub-division of holdings, owing to the concentration of the people in the most fertile regions, and their unwillingness to move to fresh lands; and (4) the insufficient facilities for irrigation. On July 7, Mr. Digby addressed a further letter to Sir Antony MacDonnell, in which he pointed out that if he does, as Sir Antony suggested, take "an unduly despondent view regarding the condition of the Indian peasant," he at least does so with the support of official evidence.

He then proceeds to analyse Sir Antony's four chief causes of the rayat's difficulties, and to contrast them with the inferences drawn by Mr. Thorburn from the neighbouring Province of the Punjab. Mr. Digby deals at special length with the second of the alleged causes, the indebtedness due to reckless expenditure on festivals. Mr. Thorburn found that while out of 742 proprietary families, 444 were practically ruined, only 65 of these owed their ruin entirely to extravagance or bad management. Still more decisive are the statistics of those seeking loans in ten districts of Madras, forming more than half of the whole Presidency. In the years 1889, 1890, and 1891, 66,396 persons obtained loans from money-lenders. Of these only 3,025, or 4 3-5 per cent. borrowed for marriage expenses. Finally, the Commissioners who enquired into the Deccan riots more than a century ago declared: "The result of the Commission's enquiries show that undue prominence has been given to the expenditure on marriage and other festivals as a cause of the rayat's indebtedness."

The agitation against the Bombay Land Revenue Bill continues. The "Times of India" reports unanimous public meetings at Sholapore and Narsappana, while a third was attended from all parts of the Wai Taluka. At the latter the Government was called upon, not only to withdraw the Bill, but to fulfil its promises of the remission and suspension of land revenue. A memorial signed by 660 inhabitants of Salsette in the Thana district prays that the time for the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill may be so extended that they may have time to submit their views to the Committee.

A Bombay correspondent writes:—"The agitation against the proposed Land Revenue Bill is growing. The Presidency Association has just addressed a respectful letter to Government pointing out the revolutionary effect of the measure. It is of opinion that under its operations the rayats who are part peasant-proprietors will be ultimately reduced to the condition of day-labourers. But under any circumstances more time is needed for the consideration of a Bill so far-reaching in its effects. People should be given reasonable time to understand its scope. Meanwhile it may be well to await the report of the Famine Commission and of Mr. MacConachie. The views of officials themselves also should be made available to the public. It is to be hoped that Lord Northcote will be able to grant the request for postponement.

"In this connexion the indefatigable 'J' has again published a long letter, full of fact and argument. Such independent contributions from close students of the land revenue question are rare. The writer seems to be fully conversant with the rayat's social and domestic usages and condition. What chiefly attracts attention are the statistical tables of mortgages and sales during the last twenty years. From these he draws the inference that it is not improvidence in the rayat or reckless borrowing which is the true cause of indebtedness but the continued series of bad harvests during the decade, coupled with the rigidity of the State demand which even in bad years is almost inexorable. He condemns the new legislation, and considers it revolutionary, as calculated to plunge the rayat more deeply into distress."

From the "Times" correspondent at Simla (July 14) we learn that the Conference on agricultural banks has closed after 16 sittings. The result is the draft of a Bill of a permissive character; and it seems that urban banks will receive first encouragement, and that, if all go well, the system will be extended to country districts. Why any such preference should be impressed on the scheme is not by any means apparent, especially when the correspondent tells us in the next breath that "experiments on a small scale in several provinces have shown a certain measure of success"—unless indeed all the success has been in urban centres. Such success as has been achieved, or at any rate recognised, has been achieved "mainly through the sympathetic supervision of the local European officials." No doubt there are local European officials who are sympathetic and who have deserved well of the country in this way. But if the new system is to have a serious chance of working well, it will be very advisable to obtain the sympathetic co-operation of Native gentlemen.

At last, then, we begin to have hope that some relief will be brought to the rayat by means of agricultural banks. The history of the agitation for this end was briefly set forth in our columns (INDIA, February, 1897), and reprinted in "The Skeleton at the (Jubilee) Feast," by Sir William Wedderburn. It is a history that shows up in startling relief the obstructiveness of the India Office, which might have stopped the project on the point of realisation just 16 years ago. The Poona scheme of 1882, carefully framed upon the lines of the successful Continental system, with special adaptations to local circumstances, was regarded as an important experiment by the Government of India, and taken up by the Bombay Government, which was willing to give it a fair trial. "All public opinion in India and in England had declared itself in favour of the movement." And what did the India Office do? Sir William Wedderburn wrote:—

> How the scheme was baffled by delay; how the promoters were wearied out by interminable correspondence on theoretical objections and hypothetical difficulties; and how finally the proposals were met by a point-blank refusal in the House of Commons on the 18th of August, 1887: is it not all written in a Blue-book of 72 closely-printed pages? In any case the scheme was done to death. . . . The guilt lies with the India Office. . . . I say that the act was a crime against the people of India.

In this case, then, half a generation has been wasted. Let us hope that now at last more enlightened ideas prevail at the India Office, and perhaps some sense of the duty of reparation.

The "Pioneer" in summarising the views it has expressed from the first on the new frontier Province, admits that "there is nothing in the new system itself making for peace rather than for turmoil." Our contemporary finds the justification for the new departure in the placing of responsibility on those who have long possessed the real control. "If there is any repetition of such imbecility as led to the abandonment and destruction of the

Khyber forts, the public will not be left hesitating how much blame to attribute to the local officials, how much to Lahore, and how much to Simla." A writer in a recent number of "Blackwood's Magazine" follows the same line, but adds: "When some day a weakling Viceroy is drawn into adventures by a strong, ambitious agent, there will be lively times for soldiers and hard times for tax-payers.

The "Madras Mail," the chief Anglo-Indian journal in the Southern Province, gives particulars of a grave charge against two planters, which is now being investigated by Mr. Vernede, magistrate of the Cardamon Hills in the Travancore State. According to the prosecution the planters accused a horse-keeper of theft, beat him and tied him to a tree. When they came to release him, he was dead. It is further alleged that he was then privately buried, the two accused making no report of the occurrence. But the horse-keeper's widow gave information and the planters are in custody.

What is rightly called in the "Pioneer" an "extraordinary case at Benares," has just been decided by Mr. H. T. Morgan. Mr. Hicks, Assistant District Superintendent of Police, and Major Cartwright, of the Yorkshire Regiment, arrived at Benares in the same railway carriage. Mr. Hicks alighted and his servant entered the carriage to take out his luggage, whereupon Major Cartwright pushed him back on the platform, and then threatened him. The Magistrate held that as the servant had opened the door and entered the carriage, it would have been "natural to let him pass into the carriage," but apparently the Major decided that it was a case either of "the Native giving way before him or him before the Native." The Magistrate, while he expressed regret that the case had come into court, found Major Cartwright guilty and fined him Rs. 10. This was ordered to be paid over to the complainant to meet his expenses.

In looking over the Index to the last six months of INDIA (January-June, 1901) a notable decrease is apparent in the number of cases there recorded of assaults by Europeans on Indians. The question naturally arises whether this is due to an actual diminution of such cases. It is difficult to say with any certainty, for many assaults are doubtless committed which never reach the public ear. One gratifying fact, however, is certain. There has been no scandal in this period affecting British soldiers which has attracted universal attention throughout India. And as regards soldiers at all events there seems to be a distinct reduction in the number of assaults. As to the reason it is perhaps dangerous to dogmatise. The average length of service of the men in India is greater than usual. Possibly, the improvement is due to the determined attitude assumed by the Government of Lord Curzon in certain recent cases.

The recent decision of the Court of King's Bench that lascars on board ship are entitled to the same air-space as European seamen will, if confirmed on appeal, have important consequences. A possible object of those who maintained the view now endorsed by the Courts—the discouragement of the employment of lascars—is indeed not likely to be realised. The advantages of employing lascars in hot climates are not confined to any questions of wages or accommodation. But if the recent decision be confirmed, the minimum air-space on all vessels will have to be increased. According to the "Pioneer," the space allowed for soldiers on a transport is not greater than that allotted to the lascars; and while half the crew are always out of the crew's quarters, the troops on a transport are all asleep at the same time. The chief result, therefore, will be a great increase in the cost to the Indian Government of the transport of troops.

The Russian "Scientific Mission" to the Pamirs under Dr. Fedshenko wants to come down into India, and the Simla correspondent of the "Times" (July 12) reports that the Government of India has granted permission for it to come "either by way of the Kilik Pass, through Gilgit, or by the more usual route from Yarkand via Leh." Certainly; and it is to be hoped that the members of the mission will look with all their eyes and carry away a distinct impression of the nature of the country they will pass through. That, we take it, would work a thorough-going cure of the craze about an invasion of India from the quarter of the Pamirs. It will be remembered that "commercial missions" and "scientific missions" were the old-time diplomatic expressions for the journeys of emissaries to spy out the land. Nowadays, the disguise is too thin. We need not trouble ourselves, however, whether the qualification "scientific" is on the present occasion real or diplomatic.

There is some strategic advantage, we suppose, in talking insistently about the improvement of the financial position in India. Some people do come to believe things through sheer iteration and insistence. To suggest that you will probably want two crores of loan and then content yourself with one also tends to produce the impression that things are going very decidedly better. The Simla correspondent of the "Times" (July 14) puts these points with skilful suggestiveness. The limitation of the new rupee loan to one crore is represented as "showing that the cash balances of India are now large enough to meet the general liabilities of the Government." Yet it is admitted, by way of saving clause, that much depends upon the course of the monsoon, and that this "is not yet completely satisfactory." So there is no really solid basis for the hopeful outlook, and yet the British public are expected to keep a good heart on the reported anticipations. We could do with an ample reduction of these hopeful expectations, and should welcome instead a larger ration of simple facts, from which we should draw our own conclusions.

Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff presided at a meeting of the National Indian Association in the Jehanghir Hall of the Imperial Institute, on Monday, when Miss Cornelia Sorabji delivered a lecture entitled "Recollections and Reflections." Amongst those present were Sir Roland and Lady Wilson, Sir Steuart Bayley, Mr. Robert Cust, Dr. and Mrs. Duncan, Mrs. Lesley Probyn, Sir Charles and Lady Lyall, Dr. Duka, and Lady Hobhouse. In introducing the lecturer the chairman referred to the distinguished career of Miss Sorabji, both in education and law, and hoped for her success on her return to India.

In the course of a description of a tour in Cutch and the adjoining country, the lecturer referred to education in North-West India. The educational system and methods were wrong from the foundation. In the high schools course preparatory to the University there was no classical and modern side, no choice between mathematics and language. Students had to nibble at a multiplicity of subjects, and in the end assimilate nothing. It was the school room which had to bear the brunt with the University if the educated Indian was a failure. The whole system needed revision. In the upper schools science, mathematics, history, and modern languages might be made special subjects so as to give the student a chance of acquiring something solid in the subject selected. The bane of the average Indian was an extra superfine memory, yet memory was the only faculty of the mind which the school and University aimed at developing.

As to the text-books used the Babu was a type which afforded much amusement in these latter days. There was no collegiate life in any of the Universities. The duty of the professor under existing circumstances ended with the delivery of his daily lecture. College tutors did not exist. There was a great need for a central law school. Dr. Duka, in the discussion which followed, assured the lecturer that the condition of education in the Madras district was far in advance of that which she had been describing.

Remittances on India for 20 lakhs were on Wednesday offered for tender by the India Council, and applications were received for Rs. 6,10,000 in bills at 1s. 3⅞d. No allotment was made. Last week remittances for Rs. 10,30,000 were sold for £68,265, making the total disposed of from April 1 to Tuesday night Rs. 669,93,556, producing £4,444,328. Next week 20 lakhs will again be offered.

THE COMING "BUDGET DEBATE."

"I DO not think that in the present condition of public business I can hold out any hope to the honourable gentleman of an unusually early discussion of the Indian Budget." By that short sentence, Mr. Balfour, in answer to a question from Mr. J. H. Roberts on Tuesday evening, disappointed our hopes that the annual official statement on Indian affairs would be made, as last year, at a somewhat earlier date. "The condition of public business" is necessarily a strong ground of denial, even if its untoward character is wholly due to the muddling incompetence of Mr. Balfour and his colleagues; and it is in fact of such hopeless nature that we cannot venture to build any anticipations even upon the insistence of the genuine and earnest friends of India in the House. India must bear its share in the general misfortune to the Empire, which has resulted from the committal of power at the last General Election to the feeble hands that now wield it. Regrets are vain in presence of the overpowering facts; and there are deep regrets on both sides of the House.

The Press in India, as we have already pointed out, and as will be seen more vividly in the extracts we publish elsewhere to-day, has anticipated the discussion in the House and in this country by a copious and frank examination of Sir Edward Law's statement in the Viceroy's Council. The official attitude stands condemned not only by the Indian, but even by the Anglo-Indian, journals. This fact alone ought to be regarded as of most serious import by the House of Commons and by the country. It means that the very journalists that would defend and support the official view if they possibly could do so without self-stultification frankly abandon the attempt, and even declare expressly against the official assumptions. When the "Times of India" finds the tone of the Budget "optimist—provokingly so to people who are still living under the shadow of famine, pestilence, and commercial depression," surely it behoves the friends of the British Indian Empire here to bestir themselves to examine closely the grounds of this astounding optimism. When the "Pioneer," on contemplation of the conversion of an estimated surplus of £160.300 into a surplus of £1,644,000 finds its "satisfaction diminished when we realise that Sir Edward Law's miracle is very much like that of Mr. Clinton Dawkins, only more so," it seems time for the home authorities to intervene and save Indian finance from the contempt of their Press friends in India. The "Pioneer" does not scruple to say plainly this: "We find the calculations made by Mr. Clinton Dawkins upset by circumstances which no financier could possibly foresee, and we find the Budget for the coming year squared by setting windfalls or appropriations on the one hand against items of outlay on the other which seem at first sight wholly inconsistent with any intelligible principle of financial continuity or trustworthy estimation of the probabilities of revenue and expenditure." If we ourselves had said this, or if any Native Indian or English non-Conservative journal had said it, the suspicion of mere party animus might have led to its being ignored; but here it is, in black and white, in the columns of one of the foremost supporters of Government in India. In like manner, the "Times of India," perhaps the very foremost journal in India on the Government side, cannot read Sir Edward Law's argument from the growth of railway receipts "without feeling that the economic progress of India is a subject which might well have been deferred for treatment at a more convenient season." How far removed from the facts are the grounds of the official optimism is clear in the treatment of the bearings of the famine in the light of the terrible figures of the recent census. We can conceive no more urgent call for the vigilant investigation of Parliament than the reluctant yet scarifying strictures of the Anglo-Indian Press.

The Native Indian Press may not be expected to be favourable to the Government, but it would be a grave mistake to assume that adverse comment is necessarily animated by mere perversity. The arguments employed are well worth taking to the test of fact. For example, when the authorities herald prosperity and triumphantly exhibit a surplus well into seven figures, who shall say that it is not an effective reply to ask: Why, then, is there no remission of taxation? The House of Commons must be taken to know well that certain taxes—and heavy taxes, too—were imposed for the specific (and, it was naturally supposed, the temporary) purpose of meeting the grievous loss sustained by exchange. The House is well aware that exchange has gone, and that loss by exchange no longer figures in the accounts. Why, then, members of Parliament must reasonably ask, are these taxes still continued when the object for which they were imposed no longer exists? Of course, everybody knows that the abolition of exchange and the substitution of "£" for "Rx." was simply a financial juggle, and the loss by exchange has still to be made good by the Indian taxpayer, just as fully and as certainly as if exchange still figured in the accounts. But, quite apart from the question of exchange, there is obviously no sense in talking of prosperity and rejoicing over surpluses unless the substantial fact is manifested in the remission of taxation. In this case, the spirit and intention of the Indian Press are absolutely irrelevant: the kernel of the matter is: How can the persistence of special taxation and no remission be reconciled with allegations of prosperity? Is there, in fact, prosperity?

Another thing that has prompted much regret in the Native Press is the large prospective expenditure in the military department. It is a time of profound peace, and there is not a cloud on the horizon to intimate the slightest probability of a breach of the peace. Otherwise it is impossible to believe that such large contingents of the army in India would have been despatched for indefinite periods to South Africa and to China. Already the absence of these troops has counted for considerably more than a million sterling to the Indian treasury; and it was a reasonable anticipation that the coincidence of a large saving on the army with a spell of military quiescence would have enabled the Government, as the "Madras Standard" says, "to carry out one or other of the urgent reforms which have been postponed from year to year on the plea of want of funds." No doubt the army is not furnished forth with the newest patterns in rifles and so forth, and theoretically of course it ought to be perfectly and completely equipped. But, as a practical matter, there can hardly be any question that the army is adequately provided to meet all contingencies that can reasonably be conceived to be within the range of human probability. At any rate, this increased expenditure calls for close investigation, and we trust that it will not be allowed to pass the House of Commons on the strength of rotund generalities. For really, if war and military necessities are to continue to absorb such an appalling proportion of the revenue, it will soon come to be a pressing question whether the country is worth the cost of its defence. It will be like the warrior that was rendered helpless by the mere weight of his armour. Of course, as Sir Edward Law says, "our whole existence depends on proper provision for the defence of our frontiers." But what is "proper provision?" And what possible risk is there to any frontier that cannot be met by the most moderate equipment of diplomacy? As for "the lessons derived from the war in South Africa," while they are certainly "not to be neglected" what possible good can be got out of them for India that ought not to have been already got out of the Mohmund and Tirah campaigns? In both cases it is the diplomat that has more to learn than the soldier. The House, we hope, will show a proper appreciation of such infantile excuses for unnecessary expenditure from so empty an exchequer and from so poor and desolated a country.

"The State treasury," writes the "Advocate of India" (Bombay), "may flourish in spite of a mountain of debt; the currency department may go on coining rupees at one rate and selling them to the people at another, with a profit ranging from 40 to 50 per cent"—£1,730,000 profit during the year, a profit applied to meet ordinary expenditure, too—"all these and other superficial economic phenomena may exist, and yet the internal condition of those who are the real producers of the natural wealth may be anything but prosperous." The proposition is well worth the grave consideration of the House. The "Hindu" of Madras strikes the same note when it affirms that "in the existing circumstances of the people it is a cruel mockery for the Viceroy to talk of their income being higher and their condition being prosperous." It is a serious matter, be the fact what it may, when a great and

able Native journal calls a deliberate pronouncement of the Viceroy "a cruel mockery." The House is laid under obligation to enquire. We are thus brought back to the famine, and the urgency of an enquiry with a view to prevention—such as is proposed, on a modest scale and on easy terms, by the Famine Union. The House, we trust, will lay hold of this point, and give no uncertain indication of its sense of the fundamental and pressing importance of the project. One would also fain hope that the Government will be afforded yet another opportunity of withdrawing from a false position on the question of a National grant. The persistence of the famine, and the unquestionable distress beyond the apparent power of official remedy, furnish only too solid a ground for bringing up again the proposal of a great act of national benevolence and justice. Nor, we should earnestly hope, will the British Indians in South Africa be forgotten. Their case may not be strictly relevant to the discussion of the financial statement, but it is very closely relevant to the relations of India and Great Britain. Much as we regret the postponement of the Indian Budget to the last empty days of an empty Session, we should patiently endure the delay if the members would use some adequate portion of the intervening period for the study of the real bearings of one or two of the points that we have suggested for their consideration.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

Westminster, Thursday.

Lord Rosebery is again responsible for the political sensation of the moment. The ex-Premier's manifesto, in which he implores Liberals, for the sake of unity, to set about cutting one another's throats, is generally recognised as a farewell not only to political life but to counsels of common sense. Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey are the persons who have most right to complain of the ex-Premier's letter, since, despite their protestations of loyalty to Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman Lord Rosebery now assures them that that is all humbug, and that the only way to arrive at unity is for one section of the party to absorb or demolish the other. What Mr. Asquith thinks of this remarkable dictum we shall know to-morrow, when the Liberal Imperialists meet to formulate their programme. Meanwhile, it is to be noted that while Lord Rosebery exhorts all true Liberals to play the part of Kilkenny cats, he himself proposes to sit on Mount Olympus and watch the fray from behind a veil of celestial clouds: "He fled full soon, on the 1st of June and bade the rest keep fighting." The general verdict on this singular incident is that the ex-Prime Minister need no longer be regarded as a serious political influence.

Rumours of an exceptionally definite character have been current for some days, pointing to the imminence of important changes of policy in South Africa. One report is to the effect that the Government are contemplating the withdrawal of large contingents of our unmounted troops, and that Lord Kitchener has advised a concentration of forces on the Natal line, leaving the western railways to be protected by patrols of mounted men. If the statement is accurate it portends either a new development of policy or a belief on Lord Kitchener's part that the war is really nearing its termination. But there are also rumours of a renewal of negotiations for peace, and rumours too that Lord Kitchener himself is heartily sick of the campaign, and is using his influence with the authorities at home to make an end of it either by concession or by putting forth a great effort in the field. Something is undoubtedly in the wind, but its purport may not be precisely known till Mr. Chamberlain is called upon, a fortnight hence, to defend his salary.

A question on the subject put on Tuesday by Mr. Winston Churchill elicited from Mr. Brodrick a denial which was generally interpreted as a confirmation of current rumours. The member for Oldham had asked whether there was any foundation for the report that large numbers of infantry were to be sent home, that certain lines of communication were to be given up, and that the conduct of the campaign was to be modified in certain other respects. "The report is wholly unauthorised and also inaccurate," replied Mr. Brodrick curtly, "and I have no statement to make on the subject." When a Minister describes a report as unauthorised, no additional epithets will convince the public that it is untrue. Later in the evening, members were privately discussing what they called "Brodrick's confirmation of the South African story."

Meanwhile, the Vlakfontein mystery deepens. Some weeks ago Lord Kitchener dismissed a sensational allegation against the humanity of the Boers as totally unfounded. Lately those allegations have been clamorously renewed, with the disappointing result that our "still strong man in a blatant land" now writes glibly of "the Boer atrocities," and loftily declares that his reason for not expostulating with the Boer leaders on their deviation from the usages of civilised warfare was that even if they disapproved they had "no control over their men." The expression recalls Lord Roberts's later and less fortunate manner. One inference inevitably drawn from the incident is that there is still a peace party and a war party within the Cabinet, and that for the moment the more aggressive of the two sections has impressed its views on Lord Kitchener.

A further victory has been achieved by Miss Hobhouse, and to some extent by the Leader of the Opposition. It was Miss Hobhouse who first awakened the public conscience to the state of the concentration camps in South Africa, and it was Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman who first suggested that doctors and nurses should be appointed to each camp in the interests of the women and children. The Government have acknowledged the truth of the indictment, and are preparing to apply the remedy. Doctors and nurses have already been appointed, and the War Office intends to send out a commission of ladies to enquire into the condition of the camps and generally to supervise their administration. Yet Lord Windsor could think of no happier way of describing the agitation that produced those concessions than by representing Miss Hobhouse and her sympathisers as saying to the grateful Boers, "No, no; you are mistaken in thanking the British people. We are really the most inhuman race in the world, and a disgrace to civilisation."

An evil fate dogs the Government in its ill-omened efforts at educational legislation. Last Monday the third of the three Bills that have been introduced under Mr. Balfour's tutelage got safely into Committee, but in the absence through illness of Mr. J. W. Lowther a deputy had to fill the chair, and the closure became a dead letter. At midnight not a syllable of the measure had been approved. Poor Mr. Balfour was in a dreadful temper. Earlier in the evening he had committed the fatal mistake of "calling names." The critics of the Bill, he declared, were talking political rubbish. He now announced that further consideration of the measure would be suspended till the Committee could enjoy the privilege of welcoming the return of a chairman armed with full disciplinary powers. What a confession for a statesman! The Opposition crowed and chuckled over the petulant Minister's discomfiture, and the more they rejoiced the more childishly did Mr. Balfour behave. His reputation has survived many shocks, but it will certainly derive no advantage from this open confession that he cannot lead the House of Commons for a single night without the aid of the closure. Sir M. Hicks-Beach, it may be remembered, carried the Budget Bill through Committee entirely by persuasion and skilful guidance. The contrast speaks for itself.

One effect of the Balfourian mismanagement of public business will be to postpone consideration of the Indian Budget till the fag-end of the Session. A year or two ago the Government made a noble effort to bring the affairs of India under discussion at a period of the year when members are still attending to their duties. The result was highly encouraging and certainly justified the expectation that Ministers would repeat the experiment. Mr. Balfour, however, has fallen away from grace. Replying the other evening to a question by Mr. Herbert Roberts, he pleaded that the present condition of public business precluded him from fixing a date for the debate. This can only mean that India is to be relegated to its old place at the bottom of the table, or, rather, is to be excluded from the feast till the guests are departing and is then only to be admitted to a scramble for broken victuals.

Ministerial defeats in the House of Lords are like trial balls in juvenile cricket, they don't count. Otherwise,

Lord Salisbury would have had to send in his seals two nights ago. As usual, the victor of the mock encounter was the octogenarian Lord Wemyss. It was a question of models and of Inigo Jones. Lord Wemyss is a devout admirer of this architectural genius and desires to see his long neglected plans for the decoration of Whitehall resuscitated and applied, in particular, to the building of the new War Office. With this purpose in view, the venerable peer would have models of the rival designs exhibited for the judgment of the public. The Government laughed at his enthusiasm and were soundly beaten for their pains. By a majority of forty-one votes to twenty the rebellious peers declared that models must be produced. Nevertheless, Lord Salisbury is still clinging to office.

Peeresses who have been besieging the Lord Great Chamberlain's office this week for tickets for the Russell trial explain their eagerness by pleading that the occasion was historic. In a sense they are in the right. Never again, probably, shall we witness the spectacle of a trial for bigamy invested with the splendour of a great State ceremonial. Mr. MacNeill has introduced into the House of Commons a Bill to assimilate the procedure against a peer in criminal prosecutions with that commonly in use. Action in the same direction is certain to be taken by more responsible statesmen. Public sentiment is altogether opposed to the perpetuation of the absurd anachronism which permits a peer, accused of felony, to be tried by his relatives and acquaintances; and, in this matter, the popular feeling is shared by the highest personages in the State.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

Thursday, July 11.—In the House of Commons, Captain Lee having asked a question as to the alleged Boer atrocities at Vlakfontein, Mr. Brodrick replied that on June 11 Lord Kitchener informed him that a Yeomanry officer who was wounded in the affair had made a statement to the effect that he saw some of the enemy shoot some of our wounded. In answer to further enquiries Lord Kitchener telegraphed on the 9th inst. that seven of our men had made statements of the same nature, and that he had arranged for an enquiry in which evidence would be given on oath.

Sir William Harcourt attended a social gathering of the Eighty Club. Referring to the differences in the Liberal party on the question of the war, he said that at all events they knew how to maintain their positions with dignity and good humour, which had not always been the case with other politicians, as, for instance, when one spoke of Lord Hartington as "the late leader of the Liberal party" and as a Rip Van Winkle, and the Fourth party behaved very unhandsomely to Sir Stafford Northcote. Sir William also dealt with the pretence of the Liberal Unionists at the dinner on the previous night that they were the true Liberal party. In regard to the war, he strongly deprecated the language of Mr. Brodrick in saying that the mistakes which had been made in the field had been due to the humanity of our officers, and that there had been not too little but too much consideration for the enemy. Such language from the War Minister, he said, was tantamount to an order to be less humane, and would make the resistance of the enemy more desperate, the settlement more difficult, and foreign opinion of England more unfavourable than ever.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, acknowledging a vote of confidence from Stirling, said that such a proof of trust was specially welcome at a time when he was facing an unusual amount of obloquy in the discharge of his plain duty.

Friday, July 12.—In the House of Commons Mr. Dillon asked whether it was a fact that on the night after the battle of Vlakfontein the British force retreated leaving their hospital and all their wounded in the hands of the Boers. Lord Stanley (replying for Mr. Brodrick) said the War Office had no information whatever on the point. Mr. Dillon asked if the War Office would telegraph to Lord Kitchener for a reply. Lord Stanley said he did not know that he could undertake to do that; but a full enquiry had been promised, and he had no doubt that the desired information would be elicited as a result of the questions which had already been asked in South Africa. Mr. Dillon continued to press for a definite reply and, the Speaker intervening, a "scene" occurred. Ultimately Mr. Dillon said he would repeat the question on Monday.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman addressed a great Liberal meeting held in connexion with the meeting of the Welsh Liberal Council at Pontypridd. Referring to the war, he said the soldier had been doing his work, and it was time the statesman began to play his part. The Government, however, seemed to be about as clumsy in making peace as they had been in making war. He denounced Lord Salisbury's declaration that the Government would not leave the Boers a shred of independence, and said that if the Premier only referred to what were known as international States the fact should have been explained. Sir Henry contended that the despatches showed that the Boers would probably be satisfied with power to manage their everyday affairs, and said that instead of proceeding as the Government had done we should endeavour to make them our friends. He took strong objection to the proposal of the Settlement Commission that an attempt should be made to swamp the Dutch and force British institutions and British ideas upon them. Of the report of the Commission he said that in his opinion it was the most indiscreet document ever laid on the table of the House of Commons. Sir Henry also touched upon some domestic questions, and ridiculed the speech of the Duke of Devonshire on the relations of the Liberal Unionists towards genuine Liberalism.

It was stated that Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman had suggested to Mr. Asquith the desirableness of the postponement of the dinner to the right hon. gentleman. In reply Mr. Asquith said that the dinner could not now be postponed without inconvenience and misconstruction. The dinner, moreover, had no more personal or political significance than had already been openly avowed by its authors."

Mr. Ernest Gardner, Conservative, was returned unopposed in the Wokingham Division of Berkshire to fill the vacancy in the House of Commons caused by the retirement of Captain Oliver Young.

An official despatch reported an attack on a South African Constabulary post in which we lost three men killed and seven wounded. The Boers were driven off, but they captured an old seven-pounder screw gun.—Lord Kitchener in a message about the skirmish near Warmbaths explained how it was that he so completely contradicted Reuter's account, and also described the system on which he made his official reports. He did not telegraph news of actions unless they had definite results, and he was opposed to the magnifying of unimportant skirmishes into British victories.

Saturday, July 13.—The Marquis of Northampton declined to attend the dinner to Mr. Asquith, on the ground that "sectional feasts" would not give unity and strength to the Liberal party." In the letter conveying this intimation he defines his views with regard to the war, as without some explanation, he said, he might be considered, by giving that opinion, to be opposed to Mr. Asquith's views on the subject.

Mr. J. E. Ellis, M.P., and Mr. Channing, M.P., addressed a Liberal meeting at Wellingborough. Mr. Ellis condemned the policy of farm-burning and concentration camps, and said that not only had they steeled the hearts of the Boers by the policy that had been pursued, but it had given rise to a great feeling of bitterness in our own self-governing colonies.

At a meeting of members of the Liberal Associations in the Middleton and Sowerby Parliamentary divisions a resolution was adopted deploring the long continuance of the war in South Africa and expressing the opinion that as the war was undertaken by our Government with a declaration that they wanted no goldfields and no territory the offer of liberal terms and conditions to our opponents would not injure the prestige of the British Empire.

Lord Kitchener sent two important despatches from Pretoria. In the first he reported that General Elliot's columns had reached Heilbron, in the Orange River Colony, from the east. During the march Colonel Broadwood's brigade surprised Reitz and captured the whole of the members of the "so-called Orange River Government" except Mr. Steyn and one other man. Mr. Steyn escaped in his shirt sleeves, but his brother was taken. The State papers were also found. The despatches also stated that two British columns had arrived at Zeerust, in the Transvaal, which had been more or less in a state of siege for some months past. The Commander-in-Chief confirmed the news that in Cape Colony the Boer commandant Scheepers had burnt the public buildings at Murraysburg and some farms. An unofficial telegram stated that an important combined movement against the Boers in Cape Colony had begun.

Sunday, July 14.—The departure of General Gaselee from Pekin was marked by a demonstration of respect on the part of the allies. Russia was not represented, but this was regarded as an oversight. The new Russian concession at Tientsin was opened on Saturday with much ceremony.

Monday, July 15.—In the House of Commons several questions were asked regarding the report that wounded soldiers had been shot by Boers at Vlakfontein. Mr. Brodrick informed Mr. Dillon that Lord Kitchener had telegraphed that he had made no communication to the Boer leaders regarding the shooting, as it was very unlikely to have any effect. Even if the Boer leaders disapproved of the atrocities, they had no command over their men. Subsequently, however, Lord Kitchener telegraphed that he was sending sworn depositions regarding the affair to Delarey. Lord Kitchener stated further that he had not heard that the British hospital at Vlakfontein had been in the enemy's hands. A copy of General Dixon's despatch on the action had been forwarded to the War Office.

The House went into Committee on the Education (No. 2) Bill.

In the House of Lords Lord Raglan replied to a question put by Lord Windsor in reference to the condition of the concentration camps. He said he thought that the refugees themselves were generally satisfied with the treatment and the arrangements made for their comfort. The mortality, which at one time was very high in these camps, especially in the Transvaal, was now rapidly decreasing, and in one of the camps the death-rate last month was nil. He announced that the Secretary for War was now in process of forming a committee of ladies, whose names would be published in the course of a few days, to go out to South Africa and visit the camps and report on them to the Government. Earl Spencer said the undertaking was a

gigantic one, and he doubted whether sufficient arrangements had been made to meet the necessities of the camps.

An official despatch and a Reuter telegram reported the capture of Scheepers's Boer laager at Cambdeboo with 31 prisoners, nearly all rebels. Scheepers escaped with the main body of his force, but his adjutant and another officer were secured. Lord Kitchener also announced that last week 32 Boers were killed, 34 wounded, and 307 taken prisoners, while 140 surrendered. We also captured 4,825 horses, 445 wagons, large numbers of cattle, and a quantity of ammunition. General Blood's column have "thoroughly cleared the country" between Amsterdam and Bethel. Mrs. Schalk Burger, wife of the Transvaal "Acting President," was now in Pretoria.

Sir J. Gordon Sprigg made a speech discussing the situation in Cape Colony, opposing a suspension of the Colonial Constitution, declaring that Republicanism in South Africa must be wiped out because it had been dangerous to British authority, and giving it as his opinion that the war was at a more hopeful stage now than it had been since it began.

The Duke and Duchess of Cornwall left Adelaide for Freemantle in Western Australia.

Tuesday, July 16.—In the House of Commons Mr. Winston Churchill asked if there was any foundation for the report that large numbers of infantry were to be sent home from South Africa and that certain lines of communication now held by British forces were to be given up, and whether the methods of conducting the war were to be modified or altered in any degree. Mr. Brodrick said that the report was "wholly unauthorised and also inaccurate." He was not in a position to make any statement.

Lord Rosebery published a curious letter about himself and the Liberal Party. We reproduce it on page 33.

Wednesday, July 17.—Sir Edward Grey at Peterborough combated Lord Rosebery's assertion as to Liberal differences being irreconcilable. The Liberal party had a great future before it, and if Lord Rosebery were anxious for it to take a proper view of the war he should exert his influence more energetically than by writing letters. His return to the arena of politics must, however, be voluntary; there was no such thing as political conscription. On the general question of Liberal principles, Sir E. Grey pleaded for Imperialism as distinct from Jingoism, and described Little Englanders as the victims of an aimless antipathy.

Thursday, July 18.—In a letter to the "Times" upon Lord Rosebery's letter to the City Liberal Club, Mr. Leonard Courtney said:—The Liberal Imperialist walks about in Prince Bismarck's old clothes. He wants to spread the domination of his race over wider areas and to bind the whole in links of iron which, while keeping inferior races in subjection, must rigidly clamp and fetter the freedom of the dominant race itself. Against this the older faith must challenge comparison—that faith which accepted the great inheritance and responsibilities of a rule already almost too big for human capacity, and steadily went forward breathing freedom in every part of its own realm and doing justice to others, content to leave the issue to be developed by freedom and justice. We are, doubtless, in the midst of a struggle between opposing principles; and, as one section of the Liberals of to-day is found rallying to the Government, embodying one principle even at a time when the said Government's first practical application of it seems threatened with failure, we cannot be certain of the immediate issue of the struggle. But a statesman who stands aloof from the personal clash of parties may be invited to take a longer view. To-morrow or even the day after to-morrow will come; and it is at least worth noting that the dim masses of the nations do not seem to have thoroughly accepted the policies of Imperialism.

Lord Russell, who pleaded guilty, was sentenced by the House of Lords to three months' imprisonment in the first class.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

OPINIONS OF THE INDIAN AND THE ANGLO-INDIAN PRESS.

In view of the approaching "debate on the Indian Budget" (as it is somewhat inaccurately termed) in the House of Commons we give below a representative selection of opinions upon the Budget Statement from Indian and Anglo-Indian journals. This compilation will doubtless be of interest to members of the House of Commons and to British journalists. Nor should it be devoid of interest to Indian readers, who are not in the habit of collating the various journals from the widely scattered portions of the Indian Empire.

The "Times of India" (Bombay).

The tone of the Budget is optimist—provokingly so to people who are still living under the shadow of famine, pestilence, and commercial depression. Sir Edward Law could not have drawn up such an account of the condition and prospects of the country if he had been in Bombay during the last three months instead of in Calcutta. However, we must try on this side of India to believe that things are really better than they seem to us to be; and that, in the Financial Member's words, "we are entitled to look forward with some confidence to the future, and to hope for the early dawn of a period of considerable prosperity." . . . . Considering that Mr. Clinton Dawkins last year budgetted for virtually a full collection from the land, it is disquieting to learn that the difference between the original and the revised estimates is here only £382,000. This looks like a dangerously close collection, and it is surprising to find the Financial Member, considering all that the country has gone through, speaking of so small a sum as "a heavy deficiency." . . . . The estimates for the coming year are framed in the belief that a normal state of things is in store. Evidently Government wish the country to forget as soon as possible that it has just passed through a disastrous and destroying famine. Land revenue is budgetted for on a scale which would seem to assume that nothing has happened. . . . . Nor have we sufficiently recovered from our troubles to follow the Financial Member with hearty assent through his singularly cheerful review of the economic situation. The census, with its deplorable tale of retrogression, is in too recent memory to permit of a belief in the "general economic progress" of which Sir Edward Law sees indications in the steadiness of the salt revenue, in the increased yield of the customs duties, and the almost inevitable growth of the Post Office revenue. Nor is it clear why he pointed in this connexion to "the unprecedented transport of food stuffs on the railways" as swelling railway receipts, and contributing "a useful addition of revenue wherewith to meet the demands of famine sufferers." This is a remarkable passage, for if it means anything it means that famine carries with it a hitherto unsuspected capacity for supporting its victims. It seems, indeed, difficult to read this part of the Financial Member's statement without feeling that the economic progress of India is a subject which might well have been deferred for treatment at a more convenient season.

The "Friend of India" (Calcutta).

While it can hardly be questioned that there is much that is hopeful in the economic situation in India, there are certain respects in which the remarks made by Sir Edward Law on the subject in his Financial Statement seem open to criticism. In the first place, we think he shows a tendency to attach undue importance to doubtful or comparatively insignificant indications. In the second, he seems hardly alive to the extent to which the future in this direction is dependent upon incalculable factors, the attitude of the Government in the matter of industrial development among them. That, in a year in which a large portion of the country has been afflicted with severe famine and three of its most important industries have been suffering from serious depression, all the principal heads of revenue, with the exception of land, have shown an appreciable increase, is certainly, in a sense, highly gratifying; but, without looking deeper, it can hardly be said with confidence that it affords "the strongest proof of recuperative power." Without closer analysis, again, it seems premature, under the circumstances of the moment, to find cause for satisfaction in the fact that the proportion of the Land Revenue to other sources of revenue has during the past four years shown a diminishing tendency. The increase in revenue from salt would certainly appear to show that the effects of famine on the consuming capacity of the population in certain parts of the country has been more than counterbalanced by increased prosperity in other parts; but it is doubtful how far the result is to be regarded as an indication of continuing progress and how far it is due to ephemeral conditions; and the same may be said of the increase in the customs revenue, and of the growth of Savings Bank deposits. The fact is that four years' figures are not a sufficient basis for any positive conclusion on the point.

The "Mahratta" (Poona).

Is it not the very height of folly to advise an increase on the military expenditure as the only lesson to be derived from the spontaneous loyalty manifested by the Indian Princes and people by lending their troops and celebrating British victories? Items classed as new expenditure amount to about 160 lakhs; about 33 lakhs out of these being an expenditure that will recur every year. So then, that is the penalty India has to pay for proving that England can safely rely on the goodwill and loyalty of the people and materially diminish the strength of the British army in this country. . . . Then we turn to the expenditure on railways. The expenditure on this head is estimated for the next year to be much the same as in previous years while that on irrigation is increased by about 10 lakhs. But what is the proportion which the expenditure on irrigation bears to that on railways? The expenditure on railways during the last three years has amounted to nearly twenty-six crores of rupees, while that on irrigation during the same period has amounted to only two crores and thirty lakhs. What a lurid light is thrown on this contrast by the criticism which Mr. Horace Bell recently made on the utility of railways in India! The Finance Minister has alluded to the economic aspect of the railways, but who can doubt that the liberality of Government in the matter of expenditure on railways is due more to the ulterior benefit in various ways which the British capitalists are sure to derive from Railways in India?

The "Hindu" (Madras).

The fact that after two successive famines which have killed millions of people and which have rendered many more millions permanently miserable, Lord Curzon should still talk of the rayat's increasing prosperity, of his possessing more money and of his standard of life being higher, is sufficient to dishearten every honest and sincere friend of the Indian people who knows their condition and is anxious to improve it. In the existing circumstances of the people it is a cruel mockery for the Viceroy to talk of their income being higher and their condition being prosperous. The increase in the area of cultivation may be an

undoubted fact, but how does it help the common people who have not enough left to them of what they themselves have produced. We have never had to complain that the country does not produce enough food for its population. Even during the worst famines India exports her grains and produce to other countries, and her population is left to starve and die. In such circumstances, the extension of cultivation cannot bring salvation to the rayat. It is the fashion for officials to prove India's prosperity by striking averages and basing their calculations upon such averages. But these averages have no value, and are utterly misleading when applied to conditions which do not admit of generalizations in regard to poverty or prosperity. Of what good, for example, can it be to Madras or the Central Provinces if Bengal shows an increase in the area of cultivation?

THE "ADVOCATE OF INDIA" (BOMBAY).

It is a notorious fact, which not even the ablest member of the distinguished service, who has passed the best portion of his life in this country, will have the hardihood to deny, that there are millions of people in all parts of the Empire who are absolutely unable to stand up against a single bad harvest, let alone two, of the character which was witnessed two short years ago. And it will, again, hardly be denied that not only at such a time, but even during times of normal harvests, these earn a wage which is no better than a bare living one. The lot of many is to content themselves with less than a full meal in twenty-four hours. Again, he must remember that millions have, during a scarcity of actual famine, to be fed, that remissions and suspensions of land revenue have to be given, and that the rayats do not recover for years, even with the State aid in the shape of "taccavi" advances. Can any economist, in the face of these facts, which are to be witnessed in India from year's end to year's end, have the courage to say the country is making "progress"? Progress undoubtedly there is of a kind. We are triumphantly referred to the growing figures of imports and exports, to those of the savings bank, to the larger number of industrial and manufacturing concerns rising in our midst. These, say the optimists who talk of economic progress, are certain evidence of their statement. But in reality are they? We deny them. For when the economist comes to examine them he finds how fallacious they are. The State treasury may flourish in spite of a mountain of debt; the currency department may go on coining rupees at one rate and selling them to the people at another, with a profit ranging from 40 to 50 per cent.; all these and other superficial economic phenomena may exist, and yet the internal condition of those who are the real producers of the natural wealth may be anything but prosperous.

THE "ENGLISHMAN" (CALCUTTA).

The following figures show how the military estimates have increased, necessarily increased, as we believe, during recent years. They are taken from page 69 of the "Gazette" Extraordinary, containing the Financial Statement:—

1899-1900	...	£14,885,226
1900-1901	...	£15,073,200
1901-1902	...	£17,135,300

In the coming year the Government of India propose to spend nearly a quarter of the revenue of the country on the army. That Sir Edwin Collen, who is primarily responsible for the military estimates, should have succeeded in successive years in inducing a Government on whose purse such pressing calls were being made by other branches of the Administration to increase its grant for the army is a tribute at once to his persuasive eloquence and his strength of character. We do not imply, however, that Sir Edward Law in this connexion, like some other Finance Ministers, threw his weight into the scale of parsimony. Indeed, in the Financial Statement are to be found expressions justifying the spending of the large sum budgetted for under the head of Army. For instance Sir Edward Law writes: "Our whole existence depends on proper provision for the defence of our frontiers." And again: "The lessons derived from the war in South Africa could not be neglected. It was our responsible duty to take them to heart, and we have done our best under the guidance of the military advisers to Government to profit by them." There is very little in the Budget for critics of the Government to take hold of, but it is pretty certain next week, when the Debate takes place, that we shall hear some strong remarks on the "waste" of public money on the army.

THE "PIONEER" (ALLAHABAD).

When Mr. Clinton Dawkins submitted his estimates for the current financial year last March and came out with a nominal surplus of £160,300, the country was glad to congratulate itself that matters were not worse; but the feat had only been achieved because Indian troops happened quite unexpectedly to be out of India; because silver had, also quite unexpectedly, to be coined in India at a great profit to Government; and because the receipts from opium, which expert witnesses before the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure had spoken of as "doomed to extinction," had been increasing by leaps and bounds. The financial statement which Sir Edward Law submitted on Wednesday is apt at the first flush to arouse very similar reflections. We find the calculations made by Mr. Clinton Dawkins upset by circumstances which no financier could possibly foresee, and we find the budget for the coming year squared by setting windfalls or appropriations on the one hand against items of outlay on the other, which seem at first sight wholly inconsistent with any intelligible principle of financial continuity or trustworthy estimation of the probabilities of revenue and expenditure. After a year in which we have had to spend in combating the ravages of famine not only the five crores which Mr. Dawkins estimated would have to be spent on direct relief, but more than a crore in addition, it is very pleasant to emerge with a surplus of £1,644,000 instead of £160,300; but the satisfaction is diminished when we realise that Sir Edward Law's miracle is very much like that of Mr. Clinton Dawkins, only more so. The Financial Member has netted a very large amount more than was expected because the Indian contingent did not return from South Africa in September last as anticipated, while another contingent has been in China at the cost of the Home Government; the Opium Revenue has brought in not only the large increase estimated last March, but over half-a-million sterling more: and finally out of an enormous profit of 4,39,50,000 rupees on the coinage of silver rupees during the year, 2,59,50,000 rupees, or £1,730,000, has been used as if it were ordinary revenue for the purposes of meeting ordinary expenditure. It is obvious that estimates which vary in this fashion, in a large measure from purely fortuitous causes, to the extent of millions sterling in twelve months, have to be read with qualifications before they can be accepted as furnishing an approximately accurate financial barometer. For many years it was the fluctuation of the rupee which made the Indian Budget an affair of guess work as much as of calculation: during the last two years the disturbing causes have been famine, the extraordinary variations in the price of opium, the absence of part of the Indian garrison abroad, and the profits on the coinage of silver into rupees.

THE "MADRAS STANDARD" (MADRAS).

We do not deny that a steady policy of railway extension has its social and political advantages, and within proper limits it cannot but be beneficial. But it is a moot point whether really a large network of railways is a boon to the population when, as now, famine makes its appearance too frequently, and we seriously doubt if the superstition of the rulers regarding the supposed economic value of railways has not been responsible for the extremely slow progress that is being made in the matter of irrigation, whose urgent claims upon Government are indeed not attempted to be denied. As for the demands of the army, it must be said that the country has been sorely disappointed in its hopes of a possible reduction of expenditure. When it was announced that the continued absence of Indian troops in China and South Africa resulted in a saving of about £1,185,000 to the Indian exchequer, the country not unreasonably expected that it would enable Government to carry out one or other of the urgent reforms which have been postponed from year to year on the plea of want of funds.

THE "AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA" (CALCUTTA).

The Budget Statement abounds in expressions which go to show that our new Finance Minister possesses a very happy temperament. The world is ever smiling to him; he sees prosperity in all directions; and pleasurable scenes meet his eyes wherever he casts them. Nay, he can eke happiness out of circumstances which fill the ordinary mind with utter despair. . . . . How sweet these words of hope and assurance are! We fear, however, Sir E. Law will find it very difficult to bring very few persons round to his views in the face of certain stubborn facts. We are told that there has been a distinct and satisfactory increase of revenue. But is this a fact or a myth? For, if India has really prospered in spite of famine, plague and depression in some important industries, why do you contract a loan of two crores of rupees at 3½ per cent. interest? Then, is it or is it not a fact that India has a debt of more than three hundred crores of rupees to pay, and that it shows no signs of diminution? In other countries taxes are remitted when they are in a prosperous condition. But was ever a tax remitted in India? And, if it is all right here, why did the Indian Government beg alms, hat in hand, from door to door, in Europe, Asia, and America? . . . . Salt is a necessary of life like air and water. No human being can live without it. And this commodity, which is to be found in abundance in this country, is taxed! This means that the poorest of the poor has to pay something to Government for an article which he needs for his very existence. Can such a tax be supported on moral grounds? But our Finance Minister not only supports it, but expresses his gratification that people are paying more and more for it. Can Sir E. Law show one country in the British Empire which pays a salt tax? Does England pay it? But even the starvelings in the famine camps in India had to purchase their salt, and thus add to the salt revenue, the increasing tendency of which has made the Finance Minister so happy.

THE "INDU-PRAKASH" (BOMBAY).

The over-sanguineness of the Budget, which Sir Edward Law, the Finance Minister, presented at the last meeting of the Vice-regal Council, will not meet with the approval of the people of India who are not yet free from the grip of the calamities that have unfortunately befallen our country and which has brought heavy mortality and financial prostration to the country. . . . . The Finance Minister could not have taken such an optimistic view of the prospects of the country, and based estimates for the coming year on a belief that nothing very abnormal has happened or is in store for us, if he had fully realized the miserable condition of the masses especially in the Bombay Presidency. The disastrous famine is still foreshadowed in the Bombay Presidency at a time when we are still suffering from the far reaching consequences of the terrible famines of the last four years, and Government have already framed and in some cases put into execution the plan of campaign for the next contingency.

THE "BENGALEE" (CALCUTTA).

If this recuperative power is due, as Sir E. Law says in para.

71 of the Statement, "to the frugal habits and industry of the people," the fruits of these frugal habits and of this industry which are not the product of any measures directly undertaken by the State should equitably be enjoyed by the people, and not by the State. We are sure Sir Edward Law would not have us believe that within a year after this frightful visitation of famine those that survived the effects of loss of health, wealth, and credit, could become so suddenly prosperous as to be in a position to contribute substantially towards the restoration of the normal share of land-revenue. We are unable to realise that a day of sunshine could follow so soon a prolonged period of gloom and misery—a period during which 90 per cent. of the cattle of the peasantry were swept away, 20 per cent. of the latter died of starvation and disease brought on by starvation, and the peasantry themselves left hopelessly in debt to the moneylenders and the Government—a debt which cannot be measured in figures.

THE "BOMBAY GAZETTE" (BOMBAY).

To the subject of immediate prospects of material improvement His Excellency reverted in his concluding remarks when he declared that wealth was growing faster than the population even when industrial development was put aside. His statistics showed the average income per head of Agricultural population as eighteen rupees in 1880 as against twenty now, or if industrial wealth be included, an increase in twenty years of from twenty-seven to thirty rupees. Cultivation also had extended from 194 million acres in 1880 to 217 million acres now, and the yield per acre on this area had substantially increased. On paper the prospect certainly looks brighter, if we take the whole country over as Sir Edward Law does in his optimistic fireworks. But when we look round in Bombay and read Mr. Bose's remarks about the Central Provinces it is difficult to believe that the tendency of the time is towards increased material prosperity.

THE "GUJARATI" (BOMBAY).

His Excellency the Viceroy made a most important and instructive pronouncement in closing the debate on the Budget. The speech is thoroughly characteristic and will be read with the deepest interest throughout the country. There are two noteworthy sentiments in it which will not escape the notice of those who will have the patience to go through it. It is an outspoken and earnest utterance deliberately intended to draw public attention both here as well as in England to certain great problems which have hitherto not received as much attention as they should have, and the Viceroy has now publicly committed Government to their consideration. Lord Curzon himself feels that whilst Viceroys are fleeting phantoms, whose personality is transient and whose term is soon over, the questions he has taken in hand or already attempted to solve are not concerned with the prestige and whim of the individual but the entire credit of British rule in India. In the case of the majority of our Viceroys it is not at all a misfortune that they have to leave India after five years. But in the case of Viceroys like Lord Curzon it is a great disadvantage to have to lose the benefit of their experience, knowledge and constructive statesmanship. The second object the Viceroy had in making his speech was to take the public into his confidence as much as possible and thus win their sympathy and support. From this standpoint we heartily welcome the speech. Though we might differ from his Excellency in certain matters, we must in all fairness admit that, having regard to the appalling disasters which have overtaken the country, he has shown unusual vigour and zeal in tackling certain problems.

THE "MADRAS MAIL" (MADRAS).

We publish to-day the text of the admirable and characteristically lucid and eloquent speech in which H. E. Lord Curzon reviewed the present position in India and the policy and attitude of Government, and we strongly commend a perusal of it to everybody. It is somewhat lengthy, no doubt, but it is most interesting, informing and brilliant from beginning to end. His Excellency is a "believer in taking the public into the confidence of Government," as is Lord Ampthill, for "the more they know, the more we may rely upon their support." This is the feeling which must actuate every right-thinking statesman, and the more the bureaucratic spirit, especially in India, is weakened, the better it will be for the country. The time has long since gone when Governments could, with any show of reason, take action in any matter affecting the public welfare without deigning to consult public opinion, and the gradual inauguration of the present better policy has redounded to the interests of both governors and governed.

THE "TRIBUNE" (LAHORE).

It appears that the net receipts from the countervailing duties, imposed upon bounty-fed foreign sugar two years ago, amounted to 8½ lakhs in the eleven months of the last financial year and to 15¼ lakhs during the ten months of the closing year. It is expected that the duties will have yielded 17 or 18 lakhs before the close of this year. It is no doubt a matter for satisfaction that this addition to our revenue has been realised at the expense of the European tax-payers; but we doubt whether, if these tax-payers had been British, the Home Government would ever have sanctioned the imposition of the countervailing duties.

THE "INDIAN MIRROR" (CALCUTTA).

An item in the Financial Statement, presented at a recent meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council, will not have escaped notice. The Finance Minister has, so to speak, earmarked no less a sum than a million and a half of rupees, the amount representing the undrawn "subsidy" to the Amir of Afghanistan. This is the first time during our long acquaintance with Afghan rulers that we discover this strange indifference towards money. Afghan rapacity and greed are proverbial. Can it be that the Amir and his subjects are getting rich beyond the dreams of avarice? Or is there some political motive behind the Amir's reluctance to touch Indian money?

THE "HINDOO PATRIOT" (CALCUTTA).

In examining the figures showing the net Military Expenditure during the last three years, we find that the expenditure is increasing every year. From £14,165,743 in 1899-1900, it has been estimated to amount to £16,345,500 for the coming year. The increase, it will be noticed, is very considerable. It almost takes our breath to notice the proposed increase. Items classed as new expenditure amount to about 142 lakhs charged under Army, in addition to about 18 lakhs counted therewith, charged to Military Works. Of this total, amounting to, approximately, 160 lakhs, about 127 lakhs are non-recurring and 33 lakhs recurring. If military expenditure goes on increasing at this rate, where will it all end? What with the military expenditure and the Home charges, India is left very little of its own revenue to enjoy. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, in one of his stirring addresses, speaking of the continuous drain upon Indian resources, says: "We have to find two hundred or two hundred and fifty million rupees simply to pay the salaries and pensions of European military and Civil servants, and all the other requirements in connexion with our Indian rule. This money has to be found before we can use a single farthing's worth of our produce for ourselves. This is the fundamental cause of our misery, degradation and disaster; this is the beginning of our poverty." We are unable to go so far as Mr. Naoroji, but we must say that our military expenditure is enormous, and the increase which it is proposed to be made this year is excessive, considering that there is profound peace in the country, and that India within her proper limits does not require any military aid to preserve tranquillity.

LORD ROSEBERY ON LIBERALS AND THE EMPIRE.

A PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

In response to an address signed by 114 members of the City Liberal Club asking him to avail himself of a meeting on July 19 to address the members on the political situation, and adding that, in their opinion, it would be greatly to the public advantage to allow reporters to be present, Lord Rosebery has sent the following reply:—

To the City Liberal Club.

38, Berkeley Square, July 16, 1901.

Gentlemen,—I received last night a wholly unexpected communication from a large proportion of the members of our club inviting me to take advantage of the club meeting on Friday to offer my opinion on the present political position, by which is meant, I suppose, the position of the Liberal party. This I am always unwilling to do for reasons which will appear. But the pressure upon me to say something at this juncture is such that I cannot well withstand. So I have resolved to defer to your wishes. I think it best, however, as the meeting on Friday is one for private business, not to make use of that opportunity, but to send you a letter instead of making you a speech. And first I must utter a word of personal explanation.

The Opposition in the House of Commons has met and united, or reunited, on the double basis of a hearty and undisputed allegiance to its leader and a complete liberty of action and dissent with regard to the one vital question before the country.

Under this remarkable charter I desire to register my claim to the freedom accorded to all, not necessarily to exercise it, but to enjoy it. In 1896 I laid down the leadership of the Liberal party with the hope rather than the expectation of promoting its unity. For the same object I have since then effaced myself, separated myself, not without pain, from many old associations, and refrained from word or deed which could disturb that unity or embarrass my successors. That line of conduct has not been generally understood. It was simple, obvious, and loyal, so it has been called mysterious. In any case, it has had no effect on the unity of the Liberal party. That party, in order to preserve the appearance of harmony, has conceded a liberty of action and speech with regard to the war, which is, in effect, universal liberty; and I hold myself, therefore, absolved from the restraint which I imposed on myself nearly five years ago. Not that I desire to re-enter the arena of party politics, far from it; I shall never voluntarily return to it. On the contrary, I believe that there is a useful and uncoveted place in the commonwealth for one who, having held high office, and having no desire to hold it again, can speak his mind with absolute independence. I speak, therefore, for myself alone.

Excuse this paragraph of egotism, for it is necessary to enable me to say what I have to say. I have to free myself before I can express my views.

That there is a great Liberal force in the country, that it could effectively combine on a domestic policy, and that it is capable of indefinite extension, I am absolutely convinced. As to domestic policy, it has, indeed, a great opportunity. But for all that it can only become a power when it has made up its mind on Imperial questions, which are at this moment embodied in the war. The whole Empire has rallied to the war. What is the attitude of the Liberal party? Neutrality and an open mind. Now, I contend that this is an impossible attitude, and only spells Liberal impotence. No party can exist on such conditions. The area of comprehension is too wide. On this ques-

tion it embraces the human race. And this question is vital, morally and politically.

Morally, either the war is just or unjust. Either the methods are uncivilised or legitimate. If the war be unjust and its methods uncivilized our Government and our nation are criminal and the war should be stopped at any cost. If the war be just, carried on by means which are necessary and lawful, it is our duty to support it with all our might in order to bring it to a prompt and successful conclusion. These are supreme issues; none greater ever divided two hostile parties. How, then, can one party agree to differ on them? Cavaliers and Roundheads might almost as well have combined on the basis of each maintaining their different opinions on the policy of Charles I.

Politically, it is urged that this is a transient difference, and that it will cease to operate when the war is over, so that the party will then reunite without difficulty. I do not think so. Those who entertain these hopes "know not the stomach of this people." Fox, I supposed, nourished the incredible when he opposed the great war with France. But, in spite of his vast abilities and his splendid charm, he split his party (retaining only a fraction by his side) and excluded it from power for nearly 40 years. The truth is that statesmen who dissociate themselves from the nation in a great national question, such as a war, in which all strive and suffer together, dissociate themselves for much longer than they think. That is a consideration which should not weigh for an instant against conviction. But it is one which should not be forgotten by politicians who do not desire to see the Government of the country fall permanently into the hands of their opponents and the indefinite postponement of their own domestic policy.

Nor is this an isolated question or a sudden cleavage; the question is only one of a group, the cleavage is of long standing. Every one, indeed, seems anxious to ignore or to evade the real truth as to the condition of the Liberal party. That condition is not the result of accidental or ephemeral causes. Nor is it, I am convinced, any question of personal jealousies. Who is jealous of whom? What position in the party is a subject of envy? Certainly not the Liberal throne, the most uneasy that has existed since the partition of Poland. Allegations of such petty jealousies are, no doubt, sincerely hazarded by those who cannot otherwise understand the paralysis of Liberalism. But the root of this trouble lies much deeper, is far more permanent and decisive; it cannot, indeed, be a mystery to any one who has observed with any attention the recent history of the party.

For the severance is one not simply on the war, which will terminate with the war, but a sincere, fundamental, and incurable antagonism of principle with regard to the Empire at large and our consequent policy. One school, blind as I think to the developments of the world, is avowedly insular; the other places as the first article of its creed the responsibilities and maintenance of our free and beneficent Empire. Take, for example, Sir Wilfrid Lawson and Sir Edward Grey, both honoured names in Liberalism. Both hold with intense conviction opinions on foreign and Imperial policy which cannot by any conceivable compromise be reconciled. And yet the party is to unite on the recognition and toleration of both. Now a party cannot be conducted on the principles of Issachar. It cannot, at any rate, contain these two schools of thought and remain an efficient instrument. The two sections may call themselves by the same name and row in the same boat. But, if so, the boat can never advance, for they are rowing in opposite directions. Until the crew make up their mind towards what point they are to row, their barque can never move, it can only revolve.

The real cause, then, in my judgment, of the weakness of the Liberal party is an honest and irreconcilable division of opinion on a group of questions of the first importance. This is not the fault of any leader, nor is it in any sense a personal matter. It is the evolution of our Empire and of Imperial feeling during the past 20 years which has produced this divergence. It could not perhaps have been avoided, and it cannot now be healed, or even concealed, by a party meeting. One school or the other must prevail if the Liberal party is once more to become a force. Until that time arrives it is of no use to speak of the grand old principles of the Liberal party. That is all very well for a peroration. But for practical or business purposes it is necessary to know what these principles are, as applied to the British Empire in the present condition of the world.

This, however, may be considered to be a matter of purely party concern. Even then, in view of our party system, it is serious enough. To me, however, it is a matter of national and not of party importance, or I should not attempt to deal with it. And to that great multitude who are not politicians at all it must in any case be a sorrow and an anxiety to see a weak Government faced by a weaker Opposition at a juncture of foreign hostility and international competition, which needs all the vigilance, power, and ability at our command. I believe that public opinion is becoming aware that this is a crisis in our history which may have an unlimited effect on our future. Yet for the moment I see no favourable issue. The nation has only just chosen its Parliament, and so its Government, by an overwhelming majority. For five or six years, therefore, our domestic destinies seem to be fixed. But even then a homogeneous Opposition, strong in ability, however weak in numbers, might make itself felt in the wavering councils of the country.

These, then, are my views of the situation. They represent only the judgment of an individual, but an individual who has long and attentively considered the subject. They are, at any rate, unbiassed and sincere, and as such I offer them for the consideration of my friends and comrades of the City Liberal Club.

Believe me, Gentlemen, yours very faithfully,

ROSEBERY.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

588,000 ON RELIEF.

The Secretary for India has received the following telegram from the Viceroy, dated July 13:—

Famine: Prospects much improved. Sufficient rain has fallen generally for sowings, except in the case of the Punjab and Gujerat. In part of Gujerat only a few light showers have been received as yet, and rain is urgently wanted there and in part of the Deccan, where uncertainty regarding the prospects is still unfavourable for the reduction of famine relief. No material change in prices.

Numbers in receipt of relief: Bombay, 486,000; Bombay Native States, 50,000; Baroda, 31,000; Hyderabad, 13,000; Madras, 3,000; Central India States, 1,000; Central Provinces, 4,000; total, 588,000.

THE "INVESTORS' REVIEW" FUND.

We take the following from the "Investors' Review" of July 13:—

The following letter from Sir William Wedderburn tells its own story. We are deeply gratified to him and to these Native gentlemen of India who have helped him and the Indian committee here to put the slender fund we have been able to collect to such excellent uses. If the fund had only been tenfold larger! But we have grown ashamed to beg for it any longer, knowing that there are so many other urgent charities becoming increasingly clamorous at home as the nation's resources grow narrower. None the less is famine still gnawing at the vitals of India. Her needs are once more on the increase, and the Government is either careless or helpless before the calamity, busy "developing" the peninsula with borrowed money, whose burden tends to increase the risks of starvation, and powerless to strike down to the roots of the mischief. Yet our fund remains open, and we shall be proud and pleased to show the photographs Sir William has kindly promised to send to all who care to look at them. Thanks to the disinterested benevolence of those Indian gentlemen who helped us—one of the noblest among them, Mr. Justice Ranade, has alas! joined the majority since the fund was instituted—and to the help of the Indian committee here every farthing of the money has been devoted to the purpose for which it was raised. Were we not right in confiding it to Native hands? We never had a moment's doubt upon that point. But are there not many ways in which the Natives of India could help us if we would only let them?

To the Editor of the "Investors' Review."

"Dear Sir,—I have now received reports and accounts from the various charitable institutions in India which have received grants from the 'Investors' Review' Famine Fund. These reports are too lengthy to reproduce in a letter, but perhaps you will allow me to give a brief account of the way the money has been spent, as this will interest those of your readers who have so kindly subscribed to the fund. The money has mainly been spent on two objects (1) the maintenance of famine orphans, and (2) the supply of cattle and seed grain to destitute cultivators.

"Under the first head I will ('exempli gratia') give a few particulars regarding the 'Mahipatram Rupram' Asylum and Orphanage at Ahmedabad, to which a grant of Rs. 4,100 was given. This institution was founded in 1893 as a memorial to the distinguished educational reformer whose name it bears; and when the famine began in August, 1899, it possessed a building capable of accommodating 100 persons, and a permanent fund of Rs. 25,000, with an income of Rs. 1,500 per annum. Many children who had lost their parents were found wandering in the streets of Ahmedabad. These were taken into the asylum, and notices were sent round the neighbouring districts intimating that orphans and deserted children would be received into the institution. Accordingly Government officers and others sent in children, until both space and funds were found to be insufficient, and an appeal was made to the public. From the funds thus raised additional buildings were erected, so as to accommodate 500 children; twenty-two separate rooms were also built for the sick, and a medical officer specially entertained, the medicines being supplied by Government free of charge. The number of children kept increasing until there were about 800 in the asylum, the monthly cost being about Rs. 2½ per head, so that the expenses rose to about Rs. 2,000 a month. To meet these growing expenses Rs. 3,200 were granted from the Central Relief Fund, Rs. 3,000 from America, besides help from the Ahmedabad City Fund. It was at this time that the welcome donation of Rs. 4,100 was received from the 'Investors' Review' Fund, and the report states that this grant 'lasted for about three months and was exclusively used in feeding and clothing the children, other expenses such as establishment charges, extra building, etc., being met from other grants.' The total admissions of famine children were about 2,000, and the total mortality about 300, this high rate being due to the previous starvation, and to the fact that among them there were infants under three years old, some of them being only a few days old at the time of admission. When the stress of famine was over many children were taken away by relatives and others, but there remained in the institution 328, nearly half of whom were under eight years of age. For these teachers have been provided, both for primary education and to teach them industries; about thirty boys have been sent to a mill to learn spinning and weaving, and the girls are taught needle-

work. In connexion with the asylum a cattle camp was established, mainly at the expense of the Jain caste, whose religion strongly inculcates kindness to animals. By this means the lives of about 400 cows were saved, milk was provided for the children, while the sale proceeds earned about Rs. 10,000 for the institution. When their Excellencies, Lord Curzon and Lord Northcote, came to Gujerat they visited the asylum and were pleased to express their satisfaction with the management.

"I must not encroach upon your valuable space to give similar details regarding the other institutions which have benefitted by your help:—The Home for Destitute Children at Surat, under its energetic secretary, Mr. H. Nanabhai Haridas; the Lady Northcote Hindu Orphanage (of which I send you a printed report); the Pandharpur Orphanage, under the Bombay Prarthana Samaj; the Broach Relief Committee; and the Akalkot Agricultural Syndicate. But it may be observed that the accounts show a considerable proportion of the money spent in replacing plough-cattle and providing seed grain. Thus Rs. 1,500 were granted to the Broach Committee, and, out of this, Rs. 442 were expended in providing sixteen bullocks to sixteen poor cultivators, while Rs. 64, Rs. 145, Rs. 112, and Rs. 21 were expended respectively in pulse, grain, millet, and castor-oil seeds, for sowing; Rs. 517 provided food for two months to seventy-four respectable families whose members could not work, while Rs. 35 were similarly distributed in cash. In the reports one and all desire, on behalf of the helpers and famine-stricken, to express their warmest thanks for your timely help and sympathy.

"The Bombay Committee which distributed the fund with so much anxious care consisted of the late Mr. Justice Ranade, Honourable Ph. Mehta, Honourable G. K. Parekh, and Mr. D. E. Wacha (hon. secretary). To them I think we are much indebted for arranging for the full utilisation of the money without a penny deducted for management. Mr. Wacha has sent me some photographs of the orphan children for transmission to you. I have taken the liberty of having them framed, and trust that you will allow them a place in your office, so that the subscribers to your fund may see the likeness of the hapless beings whom they have befriended.—Yours faithfully,

"W. Wedderburn.

"Meredith, Gloucester, July 10, 1901."

Imperial Parliament.

Friday, July 5.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

LEAVE IN EUROPE.

Lord Harris asked his Majesty's Government whether they would consider the Government of India Acts, with a view to so amending them as to enable the officials now debarred by those Acts from taking leave out of India to do so on medical certificate. He said that at the present time there were four high officials who were debarred from taking leave in Europe—the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief in India, and the Governors in Bombay and Madras—and it was possible that any one of these high officials might become so seriously ill that he ought to be sent home for a change. Except in this particular the Act was admirable in itself. These were the only four officials in the whole officialdom of the British Empire who were debarred from taking leave in Europe. As their lordships knew, Lord Milner was now at home on leave, and he had no doubt that his visit to this country would reinvigorate him for the performance of the arduous duties he had before him. He did not suppose that these high officials to whom his question referred would try to get away on leave. They were generally too much imbued with a sense of the high responsibility that rested upon them; but, if their medical advisers told them they ought to take three or four months' leave during their five years' service and they acted on their advice, he was perfectly certain they would do their work better in the last year of their service. (Hear, hear.)

The Earl of Hardwicke thought the analogy between the Viceroy and Governors in India and the Governors of constitutional colonies was hardly a true one. This question first arose when a Bill was introduced to enable the Duke of Connaught to come home on leave, and during the debate on that Bill Mr. Smith, then leader of the House of Commons, promised legislation. In 1892 his noble friend Viscount Cross, when Secretary for India, introduced a Bill to enable the Viceroy of India to return home on urgent public business or on medical advice. That Bill passed through their lordships' House, but it made no progress in the House of Commons. Since then no demand for such legislation had been made in either House. Indeed, the opposition to such a Bill on the part of many very distinguished and experienced authorities was so great that it was thought injudicious to attempt to force it through the House of Commons. One of the chief arguments against the Viceroy of India being allowed to return to England, either on a summons from the Secretary of State or on the ground of ill-health, was that the effect on the minds of the Native population, to whom the Viceroy represented the embodiment of British sovereignty, might be very dangerous. With regard to the Governors of Bombay and Madras and the Commander-in-Chief, it was felt that if the health of any of them broke down it would be better for him to resign his appointment at once rather than that he should obtain leave of absence. In the face of these objections it was felt that it would be dangerous to tamper with the existing law, which had been in force for so many years. The rule that those four high officials of India should remain at their posts during a limited term of office had stood the test of time and circumstance.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

LAND REVENUE AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS.

Mr. Henry J. Wilson asked the Secretary of State for India whether he could state what steps the Government of India had taken or proposed to take by way of giving effect to the Resolution of this House, adopted April 3, 1900, pointing towards modification of land revenue administration in those provinces where changes in that respect were needed; also with regard to the improvement of Indian industrial conditions.

Lord G. Hamilton: The resolution referred to was to the effect that it might be safely left to the Government of India to carry out any modifications of the land tenure and industrial system which experience might shew to be likely to mitigate the effects of famine and plague. The Government of India are now considering the report of the Famine Commission appointed last year, over which Sir A. MacDonnell presided, and will be ready to take upon it any action which may seem desirable.

PUBLIC DEBT AND MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

Mr. William Redmond asked the Secretary of State for India whether he could state the total public debt of India in 1875 and in 1900; and also the total Military Budget of the Indian Army in 1875 and in 1900.

Lord G. Hamilton: Taking the Indian figures as pounds of 15 rupees each, the total public debt of India was £95,163,672 on the 31st of March 1875, and £199,127,535 on the 31st of March, 1900. But during this period £109,700,320 has been spent on public works, railways, and irrigation, bringing in a large revenue. The net military expenditure in 1875-6 was £9,763,013, and in 1900-1 £14,239,100.

Monday, July 8.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM—"RUPEE-POUNDS."

Mr. Herbert Roberts asked the Secretary of State for India whether, with the view of making accurate comparisons with previous years' East India Accounts, he could arrange for the totals appearing in the Explanatory Memorandum of the Indian Financial Statement of this year to be stated in tens of rupees.

Lord G. Hamilton: The sovereign having been made legal tender in India at the rate of one pound to 15 rupees, it was decided last year that in the accounts laid before Parliament the figures should be given in pounds, those relating to Indian transactions being converted at 15 rupees to the pound; and in the Statement of Net Income and Expenditure the Accounts since 1888-89 have been revised, for the purpose of comparison. Some temporary inconvenience is unavoidably caused by this change: but it would be much more inconvenient to revert to the system of presenting the figures in tens of rupees; and I regret that I cannot meet the wish of the hon. member in this respect.

LASCAR SEAMEN.

Mr. William Redmond asked the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention had been called to the judgment of Mr. Justice Mathew, in the King's Bench, to the effect that under the Merchant Shipping Act Lascars and Europeans must be treated alike with regard to the crew space: And, whether the Board of Trade intended to take any action in this matter.

Mr. Gerald Balfour: Yes, sir. I have received a letter from the P. and O. Steam Navigation Company stating that "the directors have decided not to appeal against the judgment given by Mr. Justice Mathew in this case. They will therefore take the necessary steps to give practical effect to the judgment in question as speedily as possible." (Hear, hear.)

Tuesday, July 16.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE ATTACK BY MAHSUDS.

Mr. Herbert Roberts asked the Secretary of State for India whether he had received any official confirmation of the reported attack made on the 10th inst. upon a guard of the 45th Sikhs by Mahsuds near the Jandola Post.

Lord G. Hamilton: The answer is in the affirmative. The occurrence took place within half a mile of Jandola post. A guard of four sepoys, of whom only two were armed, were attacked by about 30 tribesmen; two Sepoys were killed, and one was mortally wounded. Two rifles and some ammunition were carried off. The tribesmen are being pursued, but at present only a portion of the ammunition has been recovered.

THE "INDIAN BUDGET" DEBATE. NO "UNUSUAL FACILITIES."

Mr. Herbert Roberts asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether he would endeavour to arrange for the Indian Budget to be taken this Session at an earlier date than was usually the case; and, if so, whether he could give any indication as to when the debate would take place.

Mr. Balfour: I do not think in the present condition of public business that I can hold out any hope to the hon. member that any unusual facilities will be given to the discussion of the Indian Budget.

PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO INDIA.

To be obtained from
THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
84-85, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

Reports of the Proceedings at the Annual Sessions of the Indian National Congress, from the 3rd to the 14th Session. 2s. each, post free.

The Skeleton at the (Jubilee) Feast (Congress Green Book I.), by SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, Bart. (being a series of suggestions for the prevention of famine in India). Post free, 7d.

Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure: Evidence-in-Chief of the Indian Witnesses. (Congress Green Book II.) Post free, 1s. 10d.

The Proposed Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions in India. Memorial to the Secretary of State. With two Appendices. (Congress Green Book III.) Post free, 1s. 2d.

Two Statements presented to the Indian Currency Committee (1898), by MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

Speech by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., in the House of Commons, August 14, 1894, on the Debate on the Indian Budget.

Ditto do. in the House of Commons, February 12, 1895, on the Debate on the Address.

Ditto do. on British Rule in India (1898).

Presidential Address by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., delivered to the Indian National Congress at Lahore, 1893.

Presidential Address by Mr. A. M. Bose, M.A., delivered to the Indian National Congress at Madras, 1898.

Speeches of Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., President of the Indian National Congress, 1894-5.

Valedictory Address of Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., delivered at Bombay, January 17, 1895.

Speeches of Mr. D. E. Wacha delivered at the 9th, 11th and 14th Sessions of the Indian National Congress.

Is the Government of India Responsible to Anyone, and if so to Whom? Speech delivered at Croydon by MR. W. C. BONNERJEE.

The Famine in India. Speeches delivered at a Public Reception to Mr. Vaughan Nash on his return from the Famine Districts, July, 1900.

Mr. A. O. Hume's Farewell to India. Speech delivered at Bombay, 1894.

India Reform Pamphlet IX. The State and Government of India under its Native Rulers. 3d.

The Indian National Congress: its Aims and Justification. By ROBERT KNIGHT.

Indian Politics. A Series of Papers on Important Indian Questions by Prominent Congressmen. Post free, 4s. 4d

A Needed Reform in the Indian Administration, by ROMESH C. DUTT, C.I.E.

The Bogey of a Russian Invasion. A Lesson from the Tirah Campaign, by COL. H. B. HANNA.

The High Courts and the Collector-Magistrates in India, by J. DACOSTA.

The Government of India and its Reform through Parliamentary Institutions, by J. DACOSTA.

Note on Sir J. Westland's Budget, 1894-5.

Note on the Explanatory Memorandum of the Secretary of State for India, 1894-5.

Note on Sir James Westland's Budget, 1895-6.

Note on Sir H. Waterfield's Tables, 1884-5 to 1894-5.

The Poor Man's Lamb: Famine Insurance for the Masses *versus* Exchange Compensation for the Classes.

REPRINTS FROM "INDIA."

The Judiciary and the Executive in India. Interview with Mr. Manomohan Ghose.

The Bombay Government and Higher Education, by the Hon. C. H. Setalved.

A National Famine Grant, Letter from the London Indian Society to Lord Salisbury, 1900.

India and the General Election (1900).

"Melancholy Meanness."

The "Over-population" Fallacy Again.

No National Contribution?

The "Slimness" of the India Office.

"Mainly a Question of Money."

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